

**Community Based Conservation
Experience in Tanzania: An
Assessment of Lessons Learned**

August 2000

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
CA	Conservation Area
CBC	Community Based Conservation
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CBFM	Community Based Forest Management
DC	District Council
DED	District Executive Director
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EPIQ	Environmental Policy and Institutional Strengthening IQC (USAID contract)
FBD	Forestry and Beekeeping Division
FD	Fisheries Division
FZS	Frankfurt Zoological Society
CCS	Community Conservation Services
GoT	Government of Tanzania
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Aid Agency)
ICWMA	Ikona Community Wildlife Management Area
LUP	Land Use Plans
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NP	National Park
NRM	Natural Resources Management
NRs	Natural Resources
NTFPs	Non-timber Forest Products
PA(s)	Protected Area(s)
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
TANAPA	Tanzania National Parks Authority
VA	Village Assembly
VC	Village Council
VFG(s)	Village Forestry Guard(s)
VGS(s)	Village Game Scout(s)
VNRC	Village Natural Resources Committee
WD	Wildlife Division

Executive Summary

The objective of this assessment was to study and report on CBNRM/CBC experiences in Tanzania by focusing on:

- the nature of CBC interventions,
- the impact of the interventions in terms of level and sustainability of resource use,
- the impact of the interventions in terms of creating conditions which are expected to change patterns of resource use in a desirable way ("enabling conditions"),
- the level and incidence of economic benefits and costs attributable to the interventions,
- any institutional, economic, social, legal, and cultural constraints to successful CBC interventions, and promising approaches to addressing them, and
- the nature, extent and effectiveness of participatory processes in the development and implementation of CBC interventions.

This assessment summarizes the status of the Community Based Conservation (CBC)¹ process in Tanzania based on a review of a selection of case studies researched with EPIQ assistance during 1999. There are four case studies that were prepared with EPIQ assistance. See Appendices 1 through 4. They are Appendix 1: Mbomipa Project Idodi and Pawaga Divisions Iringa Region, Tanzania and Selous Conservation Program Songea and Morogoro Districts Ruvuma and Morogoro Regions Tanzania. Appendix 2: The Case of Duru-Haitemba Community-Based Forest Management Project Babati District, Arusha Region, Tanzania. Appendix 3: The Case of the Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy Serengeti

¹ The term Community Based Conservation (CBC) as used here has broadly the same meaning as Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM). Often, the CBC often is assumed to also involve the utilization of larger species of wild animals, while the CBNRM is associated with the utilization/management of all natural resources within an area.

District, Arusha Region, Tanzania. And Appendix 4: The Case of Ngorongoro Conservation Area Ngorongoro District, Arusha Region, Tanzania.

1. Introduction

This report follows a CBNRM Policy Study Tour of Southern Africa during May of 1999, which was supported by USAID-funded E/NRM Strategic Objective #2 (SO2). The study tour included representatives of the Government of Tanzania (GoT), USPVO, CBO and USG partner agencies collaborating in SO2. The group visited the Southern African Region for a Community Based Conservation (CBC) policy and practice study tour to obtain an overview of the CBC or Community Based Natural Resources Management Models (CBNRM) in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia. The aim of that study tour was also to generate knowledge that would help formulate a vision as to how Tanzania's Wildlife Policy could be to achieve sustainable CBC. Findings from the study tour was also to inform the preparation of the WMA guidelines. See Draft Report, USAID/T SO2 CBNRM Policy Study, Tour of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia, 15-29 May, 1999, prepared with the assistance of EPIQ/Tanzania, June 3-4, 1999, Dar es Salaam.

The policy study tour identified a number of key elements that need to be in place to enable rural communities adjacent to natural resources to become actively involved in helping themselves to alleviate poverty and improve their quality of life, while at the same time manage the natural resources base more sustainably. It also examines the opportunities and constraints that rural communities and Tanzanian authorities must contend with in the process of accessing and using sustainably and profitably their natural resources base.

In Tanzania, most of the rural populations live on village land with limited private tenure. They are dependent upon those lands and their productive capacity to obtain livelihoods. Their dependency on this land and the natural resources endowment on it is significant, since often there is little else to depend upon. The extent to which they obtain a livelihood and prosper in this environment varies with the degree and capacity of the people, and the extent that they have authority to make decisions as to how these lands and their resources are used and developed.

As elsewhere in Southern Africa, broadly the same set of operational opportunities and constraints exist in the three countries visited. While there is much to learn from that region, the SO2 team recognized that there is a wealth of experience in Tanzania, generated through the 1990s, through trial and error that is of relevance and importance in the facilitation of successful CBC initiatives. EPIQ/Tanzania was therefore directed by the CBC Management Regime working Group to proceed in an assessment of "lessons learned in CBNRM in Tanzania." This report summarizes the finding of the case studies carried out for this assessment.

Interesting and yet complex relationships have emerged as the CBC process develops in Tanzania. These include the distribution of costs and benefits of conservation, the relationships between the local communities and the local and central governments, the manner in which the proprietorship is being held and how it will be shared. Others include the processes that motivate people and governments to work together for their mutual long-term benefits and the sustainability of the resource base.

2. An Overview of the CBC Approach

The South African visit came up with a number of suggestions based on what they saw as the positive aspects that are applicable to Tanzania and that would help the development of CBC in Tanzania. The report suggested that:¹

The CBC program be facilitated from the top-down, empowered at the grassroots from the bottom-up, and regulated/advised somewhere in between as a "glue" that holds it together. It was further elaborated that:

The relevant ministries would provide oversight from top-down and be supported by a CBC Association, while in the middle, district governments would play a key role in coordinating and regulating CBC initiatives on the ground and would provide the linkage between national policy and local implementation. From the bottom-up, communities will be empowered to manage, make decisions about, and generate revenue from CBC.

An important point that was stressed is that although CBC bodies will eventually be empowered to decide and manage issues such as quotas, problem animal control and tourism, most communities do not have the local capacity to fully assume such responsibilities. The expectation is for the national (GoT) and local governments to take the role of providing guidance as these capacities develop.

Community Based Conservation as applied here broadly refers to the new management and benefit sharing arrangements in natural resources management by local communities. Elsewhere it has been referred to as Integrated Conservation and Development (ICD), Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), Community Wildlife Management (CWM) and Protected Area Outreach Projects. The New Wildlife Policy of Tanzania (1998) refers to it as the utilization and conservation of wildlife by local communities, and wildlife is defined as species of wild and indigenous plants and animals found in Tanzania (MNRT, 1998).

The three main areas in which CBC is being applied are in Wildlife, Forestry and Marine Management. More recently the big game resources are included and CBC is beginning to include the closely related wildlife tourism sector. What is emerging here is that both the consumptive and non-consumptive uses are becoming an integral part of CBC in Tanzania.

¹ USAID/T SO2 CBNRM Policy Study Tour of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia 15th–29th May, 1999. June 4, 1999–Draft Report.

What is also emerging is the application of CBC in a wider form to include the management of a multiplicity of resources such as game animals and birds, woodlands and water resources within the same area.

The pilot initiatives of Wildlife Management in Tanzania include the Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy (SRCS), the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, the Selous Conservation Programme (SCP) and the MBOMIPA Project². In community forestry management, the Duru-Haitemba and Migori Forests and most recently the Urumwa Forest Reserve, the Gologolo Forest Management Area and Ufiome Forest Reserve are among the first such initiatives in Tanzania. In the marine area, the Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) is fostering the inclusion of local communities in the conservation and utilization of marine resources.

In recent years, a number of factors have generated need and continue to exert pressure for CBC to exist in Tanzania. These include rural poverty, the limited ability of local authorities and central government to manage natural resources, together with the opportunities offered by the liberalized market, and several NGOs, CBOs and the private sectors. Moreover, the existence of persistent poverty around such concentrations of wildlife resources has created an absurd situation of the co-existence of abject poverty among an abundance of wildlife resources with all its potential for alleviating much of this poverty.

Most important, as some local communities are becoming aware of the potential of managing their resources in such a manner that they bring a significant amount of benefits to them, an increasing number are in favor of placing more responsibilities in the management of natural resources on local communities. This is already happening through a variety of pilot projects and unique initiatives and there are encouraging signs of the viability of this approach, if applied judiciously.

The decentralized local government management structure in Tanzania places increased responsibility on Districts to manage natural resource outside gazetted park areas and it is in these areas that such wildlife resources are being most threatened and also often in conflict with other land uses. Although this is a problem, it also provides a unique and timely opportunity for well designed and applied CBC to function in many parts of Tanzania.

There are some important lessons to be learned within Tanzania despite the fact that many of these initiatives are quite recent. A number of different CBC initiatives have emerged, examples of which are contained in Table 1. A few of the “older” ones are hardly 10 years in

² MBOMIPA is the Kiswahili acronym for Mpango Bora wa Matumizi ya Rasilimali Idodi na Pawaga – loosely translating into The Idodi and Pawaga Division Programme for Improved Natural Resources management

existence. During this period a range of community based conservation initiatives were initiated in various sectors and geographical locations in Tanzania and are affecting a growing number of people and their livelihoods in rural Tanzania (Table 1). Indeed many initiatives are quite recent and many more are laboring in the process of being initiated. In the absence of a "road map"—or other guidelines, a number of these attempts are facing difficulties finding direction and are in danger of losing momentum³. Those that have had more success, attribute this to the impetus originating from NGOs, CBOs, and Government, but more important are “demand driven” and provide local communities with a larger and freer stake in the management of resources. As the news of such initiatives is spreading, and especially the "good news,” the drive is now emerging from local communities themselves, e.g. West Kilimanjaro and Loliondo districts, among others.

³ The Wildlife Division, with support from EPIQ and GTZ has prepared draft guidelines for the establishment of Wildlife Management Areas, in which CBC will be the main approach. See Draft Guidelines for the Establishment of WMAs and several analytical studies supported by EPIQ and GTZ in providing input to WMA Guidelines.

Table 1. Location and Population

	CBC Activity	Population/No. Communities Involved	Location
1	Migori Forest	13,461 people	Singida Rural District, Singida Region
2	Duru-Haitemba Community-Based Forest Management (CBFM)	8 villages, 3582 households (approx pop. 17,000)	Babati District, Arusha Region
3	MBOMIPA Project	30,000 people	Idodi and Pawaga Divisions, Iringa Region, Tanzania
4	Selous Conservation Project	31 villages, 75,000 people	Songea and Morogoro Districts, Ruvuma and Morogoro Regions
5	The Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy (SCRS)	20 communities	Arusha, Mara and Mwanza Regions
6	Ngorongoro Conservation Area–The Ngorongoro Community Based Conservation Programs	14 villages	Arusha Region
8	Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP)	Coastal fishing communities	Mafia Island, Mafia District.
9	Loliondo Initiatives (in process)– Functioning in 1 villages and in process of being established in another 6.	6 villages	Loliondo District
10	Ololosokwan -ConsCorp Agreement	1 village	Loliondo District
11	Dorobo Safaris	Several villages	Simanjiro District, Arusha Region

2.1 History of CBC in Tanzania

CBC in Tanzania has a relatively recent and checkered history, much of it is based on pilot projects, and programs and discrete initiatives dotted around the country following different approaches and practiced in different natural resources sub-sectors. These include, among others, the wildlife management initiatives around the Selous and several protected areas in northern Tanzania. Two marine protected areas in Mafia and Zanzibar, and community forestry management initiatives in Western and northern Tanzania.

2.2 Size

The CBC initiatives range from small ones consisting of just one community or village, such as in Ololosokwan Village in Loliondo District to the Selous or Serengeti where a large

number of villages and several thousand persons are involved. The size of any CBC initiatives is dependent on the resources available and their attraction or ability to generate benefits to the local population. Some may be quite small while others can be huge. What is clear though is that the larger the initiative the more likely it is to become more heterogeneous and complex to manage. The size of a CBC area is determined by the resource base, those wanting to be part of such an initiative, and the attraction or potential of the resource base, i.e., what opportunities are available and can be extracted from the area.

2.3 Number of Communities

The number of communities involved in CBC initiatives could not be determined exactly. However, it can be extrapolated from table 1 that the number of communities engaged in any single area is large, and consequently such initiatives have the potential of affecting the livelihoods of a large number of people in rural Tanzania. Also the number of initiatives on the drawing board is growing as many rural communities throughout Tanzania are contemplating taking up CBC. Here lies a significant potential for influencing rural development and poverty alleviation positively. What can be extrapolated from this assessment is that if in just the few pilot areas so many people are positively affected by these initiatives, clearly there is the potential for a large number of people in rural Tanzania who can become part of similar initiatives and benefit from them.

3. Socio-Economic Issues

There are wide ranges of critical socio-economic issues affecting the large majority of populations within the CBC initiatives under analysis and their presence or absence affects significantly their quality of life. Most of the local communities were lacking important social services and infrastructure, and in many instances, in areas such as in the Selous, SCRS, NCAA and MBOMIPA Project, these services and other important infrastructure like improved roads, village offices, schools and health facilities were provided.

The communities that have CBC initiatives are rural, and obtain their livelihoods from agriculture, livestock, fisheries and other NR extraction activities, such as forestry (extracting timber and NTFPs) and mining. In recent years with growing populations (Tanzania's rural population is estimated to be growing at a rate of 2.7 percent p.a.), considerable pressure is being applied on these dwindling natural resources, and consequently there have emerged a range of non-farm and off-farm activities. Some of these activities are legal and others, including poaching of marine, forest and wildlife resources, are not and contribute significantly to the reduction and even disappearance of critical natural capital. From the point of view of conservation, this is undesirable. This trend is also economically an unsustainable one, which in the longer term further reduces the opportunities available for obtaining livelihoods.

The main potential impact of socio-economic practices on the NR base comes from the illegal harvesting of timber and NTFPs, cultivation, livestock and illegal harvesting of game meat (poaching). The creation of CBC initiatives also brings about the potential for conflicts with ongoing economic activities such as crop damage by wildlife in both WMAs and CBFM areas. Similarly, the demand for woodfuel, fodder and building materials from forests has serious implications in terms of deforestation, and general environmental degradation, with the concomitant decline in critical environmental services. These seemingly peripheral issues must be kept in focus in every stage of creating and implementing CBC initiatives.

Other more traditional crop or range management practices e.g. setting wildfires, collection of building materials, medicinal plants, wild fruits and vegetables have impacts that do not appear to be purely or directly economic, but do have a significant impact on local health, food security and livelihoods.

Concern is raised from the potential impacts of external influences such as tourism and mining. Their impacts are likely to be both positive and negative. Concern is that Districts do not have a direct influence on the establishment and control of mining areas within CBC areas. The Ministry of Energy and Minerals can give authority to prospect and mine even in

PAs. This is a potential threat to the sustainability of CBC initiatives. However, in theory, consultation is required between the relevant government institutions and sometimes EIA is required before a permit to mine in Pas is granted. In practice this is seldom done.

In the light of a growing awareness of the income earning opportunities (benefits) of CBC initiatives, occupants from outside also desire a share of the benefits. This is likely to lead to immigration into the more prosperous villages and an increase in pressure on the scarce resources. Similarly, entrepreneurs from outside areas are likely to be attracted to the areas by opportunities that they have to offer, putting significant competitive pressures on local socio-economic structures with less experience in alien social behavior or business management and practices of free enterprise.

3.1 Literature Review of CBC in Tanzania

Despite the fact that there are several CBC initiatives in existence in Tanzania, there is relatively little in terms of available literature that is easily accessible or which can readily inform those interested in CBC initiatives. Many of the relevant project documents do not lie within reach of most practitioners, and yet there have been several CBC initiatives with varying degrees of success as well as pitfalls within Tanzania over the last 8 years or so. As evidenced by the recent demonstration in Tanzania of Tracker /FRAME—these are however other tools network emerging which support information sharing.

Despite this situation, there already is some degree of awareness within GoT about CBC initiatives particularly within the Southern African region, the most prominent being CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe. Other CBC initiatives include the Conservancies in Botswana and Namibia and the type that is based on Administrative Management Design (ADMAD) in Zambia. However, this body of knowledge seems to be particularly concentrated within the higher levels of GoT e.g., Wildlife Division (WD) and in areas where TANAPA is involving local communities in conservation activities adjacent to its parks. Further down the administrative structure, especially from District levels, such knowledge becomes scanty, and even more so at the local communities levels.

One important lesson from the Southern African initiatives has been to show that there is an alternative to the conventional approach to wildlife management (fences and guns), and that it can work. Moreover, it has exhibited to have a wider range of benefits that can accrue to all sides, i.e., to conservation, district authorities and the local communities, provided a realistic formula can be derived that shares fairly the responsibilities and costs on the one side and benefits on the other.

4. Analysis of Main Findings

4.1 Management of CBC initiatives and the Participatory Process

The CBC processes in Tanzania are at varying stages of development and the lessons learnt from each experience are unique. In terms of participation Pimbert and Pretty's table summarizes the various typologies of the participatory process in different CBC areas (Table 2).

Table 2. How People can Participate in Development Programmes

	Participation Typology	Some Components
1	Passive Participation	Being told what is going to happen or already has happened. Top down, information shared belongs only to external professionals
2	Participation in information giving	Answer questions posed by extractive researchers—using surveys etc. People not able to influence.
3	Participation by consultation	Consulted and external agents listen to views. Usually externally defined problems and solutions. People not really involved in decisions making. Participation as consultation.
4	Participation by material incentives	Provision of resources, e.g. labour/Little incentive to participate after the incentives end, e.g. much on farm research, some community forestry.
5	Functional Participation	From groups to meet predetermined objectives. Usually done after major project decisions made, therefore initially dependent and enabling. Participation as organization.
6	Interactive Participation	Joint analysis to joint actions. Possible use of new local institutions or strengthening existing ones. Enabling and empowering so people have stake in maintaining structures or practices.
7	Self-mobilization	Already empowered, take decisions independent of external institutions. May or may not challenge existing inequitable distributions of wealth and power. Participation as empowering.

Source: Pimbert and Pretty 1994, Oakley 1991.

What is found on the ground is best explained by placing of the different CBCs in different parts of the participation typology. For example, participation in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area can be classified as developing from type 1 towards type 3, i.e.

developing from passive, towards information giving and consultative. The same applies in the case of the Serengeti Regional Conservation Strategy (SRCS), though here it appears that it is progressing towards the fifth and sixth types of participation i.e. towards functional participation. In the case of the Selous Conservation Area (SCA) participation began by consultation (type 3) and is progressing towards functional participation (type 5), whereas in the case of MBOMIPA, there is evidence of the participatory process being at the interactive stages (type 6).

What is clear is that there are different types of participation in the different areas, but what is important for the successful implementation of CBC is the initiation and/or progression of participation towards types 6 and 7, i.e. functional participation and self-mobilization. The importance of this can be highlighted by the observations of one analyst who notes that in the case of Selous Conservation Project (SCP), the project was initiated from above and it brought in local communities into wildlife conservation largely through promises of socioeconomic benefits. In the long term these promises were not fully realized and subsequently interest of the local communities in CBC declined (Songorwa, 1999). Likewise, because of weaknesses in participation, other critical issues were not addressed comprehensively, e.g., the issues of livestock keepers and farmers whose crops suffered damage from wildlife.

4.2 Planning for CBC Initiatives and Consensus Building Process

Reconstructing the negative, antagonistic relationship between Conservation Authorities and local communities after a legacy of exclusion and policing methods is a difficult task. There are skeptics on both sides. On the side of the communities there are those with great suspicion regarding the real and long-term intentions of Government and even some NGOs.¹ On the side of government, there are those who find it difficult to devolve real responsibility and authority to local communities, expressing doubt in their capacity to manage wildlife resources in terms of the required skills. Such a situation is to be expected. Evidence on the ground in the case of SCP and NCAA clearly shows that this is a difficult, but very necessary task. It is a prerequisite for the success of any CBC initiative, and where more efforts have been made towards realizing this objective, there has been more success, as for example in the case of Ololosokwan Village Community (OSV) and ConsCorp (CCA) in Loliondo.

Box 1. The Ololosokwan–ConsCorp Story

Conservation Corporation Africa (CCA or ConsCorp) and Ololosokwan Village Community (OVC)

¹ This point of view was expressed by several community leaders in Loliondo

have been involved in a protracted legal battle over the validity of both parties' claim to an area of land of approximately 25 000 acres in the Loliondo Game Controlled area bordering the northeast of the Serengeti National Park in Tanzania. CCA bought the land containing Klein's Camp in 1996 from Tanzanian Cattle Products Ltd. who were also involved in a legal dispute with OVC over the same piece of land. CCA's intention was to conduct photographic and film safaris in this area that is known for its abundance of wildlife and attractive scenery.

Both parties have suffered uncertainty and financial losses brought on by this dispute and recently have shown a willingness to reach a mutually beneficial agreement that will pave the way to a strong and lasting partnership. CCA has drawn up a 'memorandum of understanding' or proposed contract laying out the rights, responsibilities and restrictions of a partnership between CCA and OVC. OVC is now in the unique situation of renegotiating with CCA for an improved partnership. A lot is at stake for both sides: For CCA there is not only the financial urgency of turning Klein's Camp into a profitable operation but also a test of one of its core values: ensuring that local communities share in the benefits from its conservation businesses. A success story with Ololosokwan will send a strong message that developing workable partnerships with local communities is the way forward. For OVC this partnership offers good potential for much-needed development from income, employment, new skills and infrastructure projects. However, granting a concession for substantial portion of its land for a long time brings with it serious costs. OVC needs to balance these against the potential benefits of partnership as well as the risks of losing land under Tanzania's new Land Act.

OVC approached the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) for advice in responding to CCA's proposal. AWF has established a strong relationship with OVC through its work with the community in setting up the institutions required for participating and benefiting from local wildlife management. In particular, AWF has worked together with OVC's Natural Resource Committee and Tanzanian tour operators to develop booking and financial management systems for three community campsites in the area. The campsites are now established and are returning substantial revenues to OVC.

CCA directors have also welcomed AWF in its role of facilitating a process towards an agreement, which works for business, the local community and wildlife. AWF is now working towards the establishment of a 'fair deal' between CCA and OVC, which will:

- Offer benefits—both financial and non-financial—to OVC in line with the value of the assets contributed and the costs that the community is likely to incur through partnership.
- Ensure that CCA is able to make a satisfactory return on its investment in Klein's Camp.
- Allow both parties to understand the perspectives of the other side as well as the mutual requirements of the contract.
- Engender an atmosphere of mutual trust and commitment to the partnership. This is particularly important given this area's history of land misappropriation, exploitation and renege promises on the part of politicians and businessmen.

Source: AWF (undated) A Draft Technical Proposal for establishing a fair and lasting partnership between Ololosokuru Village Community (OVC) and Conservation (CCA) Annex 4: Conscorp/Ololosokwan Deal Report. AWF-CCSC Annual Report to Ford Foundation.

However, against this backdrop, considerable progress has been made in achieving long term and strong commitments to the process. This has been achieved through continuous interactive dialogue and participatory approaches. Other approaches are part and parcel of the capacity building process. Overall, it has to be appreciated that considerable, time, human resources, and commitment is a prerequisite in rebuilding trust and arriving at solid commitments with communities. This is evident in the LAMP Duru-Haitemba Project, the Selous, SRCS and SCP. In Loliondo, the different stakeholders are going through the same

tedious but extremely necessary consensus building process necessary for initiating successful CBC.

4.2.1 Linkages with other programs and local participation in CBC

Several of the CBC initiatives have, through participatory rural appraisal (PRAs) and SWOT analyses, been able to identify other stakeholders operating in the same areas and who are supporting either complementary activities or are already engaged in other forms of managing wildlife resources. Through the PRAs they have managed to assess their capacity and identify mechanisms for resolving conflicts.

4.2.2 Activities and linkages with private sector, government and NGOs

Most of the CBC initiatives have established linkages with the government, NGOs and the private sector (in that order). Linkages with both the central and local Government is essential, as clearly shown in the case of MBOMIPA and SRCS, as each level retains important facilitative roles that can bring about the success of CBC initiatives. The situation in Tanzania is such that although local communities could manage the resources (wildlife, marine or forests), the state still retains ownership and responsibility of the resource (URT, 1998).

Many of the CBC initiatives do not have the capacity, experience or skills to manage on their own. They face many constraints in the process, and strategic linkages with government and NGOs in areas such as resource management, training, legal and enterprise aspects are important and extremely useful. For example, in the case of OVC, the role of African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) was pivotal in both assisting to build consensus and dealing with complex legal and technical issues. While the AWF provided critical technical advice to the OVC, it also acted as a go-between-cum-arbitrator in the negotiations between OVC and CCA².

Another interesting development is the increasing desire of private tour companies in involving local communities in some of their operations. The involvement of private companies and NGOs such as the Ruaha Conservation Group, Conserve and Dorobo Safaris have in various ways facilitated the successful take-off and operation of CBC initiatives.

² This role, whilst useful and well intended, is not often received positively by some of the stakeholders, especially where suspicion and skepticism seem to dominate relationship between actors. This calls for more transparency and participation of all stakeholders.

4.2.3 Activities related to marketing or increasing access to markets and value-added processing

The sustainability of CBC initiatives depends not only on reliable and favorable legislative and administrative frameworks, but equally important on the accessibility to and reliability of markets for their products. In many project areas the latter aspect has been difficult to achieve. In most forestry management initiatives, the question of access to markets or marketing does not arise immediately, due to the simple fact that the villages inherited forests that were largely depleted, and so the priority is to regenerate them first. Generally there is no problem with marketing forest products.

It is in the wildlife area that the marketing problem occurs. For example, under MBOMIPA and SCP, markets proved to be insufficient and inaccessible. This meant that benefit transfers became difficult and inadequate. Thus marketing should be assessed and addressed at a very early stage. Yet another aspect that needs looking into is the value added processing, in both the consumptive and non-consumptive tourism. Better value added processing is likely to add to the community's income earning potential and satisfaction with the existence of the resource.

4.2.4 Collaboration of Different CBC initiatives

At the outset many projects tend not to go out on their way to establish close links with other CBC programs. However with time, and once some critical psychological barriers come down, important links are established. For example, in Babati the SIDA funded LAMP project is collaborating with the AWF to establish WMAs. This type of collaboration is proving to be quite rewarding and complementary. The same is observed with the MBOMIPA Project where there is a close working relationship with the DANIDA funded HIMA environmental conservation and resource management project. However, not enough of such levels of collaboration are in place, and this is largely due to a narrow outlook of several CBC initiatives and the lack of coordination among donors and government institutions that support or facilitate these CBC programs.

4.3 Institutional and Legal Aspects of CBC

There are a wide range of critical Institutional and Legal aspects relating to CBC initiatives. These include:

4.3.1 Land tenure – a delicate but important matter

In Rural Tanzania, villagers 'own' land communal tenure based on through long term establishment, birthright. The legal framework for village land has remained unclear and a

potential source of enormous conflict. The villagization program of 1967 produced no new legal framework for village land tenure, or if it did provide security to village land, the underlying assumption was that people were governed by pre-villagization customary tenures. Villagization destroyed what little was left of the security of deemed land rights, and apprehension about their land has ever since haunted villagers (Shivji, 1998:15) and the courts have piled up numerous land conflicts and subsequent litigation.

Box 2. Allocation of village land

An outside applicant for village land, typically for an area running into hundreds of acres, approaches either the District or regional land Officers or Commissioners. He is advised to obtain the consent of the village concerned. Such consent is embodied in a set of minutes of the Village Council signed by the chairpersons and secretary. However, the Land Commission found that in practice the matter hardly goes to the Village Assembly as a whole. At best, the Village Land Committee might discuss it. In most cases, therefore alienation takes place behind the backs of villagers and against their wishes. In other cases, reluctant land committees are pressurized and intimidated into giving way. The land Commission found many examples of abuse such as the forging of minutes. In some places, chairpersons and other village functionaries pleaded that they had no alternatives but to approve alienation because they were told that these were directives from the Minister of Lands or State House. In sum, one decisive fact emerged from much of this evidence. The village assembly as such has no say in the alienation of village land and no control over it. The village council is structurally and legally powerless to defend the land interests of the village against outsiders supported by powerful district, regional or national leaders. As the law stands, the Village Council is answerable to the district Authorities rather than to its Village Assembly.

Source: Shivji, 1998 p.23

The proposed Land Act, 1998 and the Village Land Bill, 1998 are designed to translate into law the tenets of the New Land Policy (1995) with the object of updating and overhauling the Land Ordinance, 1923. It is expected that the proposed Land Act will be responsive to the needs of contemporary Tanzania, in the context of a liberalized economy and an emerging land market (Juma, 1999).¹

The Village Land Bill, 1998 apparently recognizes three types of village land, based on their uses, i.e. for settlement/habitation, agricultural and grazing. Thus, a village can only secure tenure over land that has any or all of these three categories of usage. The Commissioner for Lands administers all land other than village land area demarcated by Village Assemblies and Village Councils under the Local Government (District Authorities) Act, 1982. Each village will be granted a title for the whole area of the village, and the village will be empowered to issue subtitles (customary rights of occupancy) to villagers for land within the village. This leaves a large grey area of land, which if not utilized by the villages, can revert to state control and be sold to another. Under these circumstances, it is the opinion of most experts,

that community-based conservation must be grounded on legality.³ Yet another concern is that the proposed Village Land Act, 1998 focuses on ‘registered villages’, but not all rural of rural Tanzania is confined to registered villages. Most pastoralists use and occupy land on a communal basis (Juma, 1999).

Despite this concern, there are also some positive aspects concerning the legal framework.. For example, Juma (1999) notes that there exist several pieces of legislation that could be utilized as a firm legal basis for community based natural resources management. Examples include the Forestry Ordinance, Cap. 389 that envisages the operation of Local Authority Forest Reserves. The Range Development and Management Act, 1964 envisages an elaborate system of Associations that could be the basis of community based conservation—as in the case of the proposed Eramatark Wildlife Management Area (EWMA) in Loliondo, in Arusha supported by the Frankfurt Zoological Society (FZS). Others include the Rural Lands (Planning and Utilization) Act, 1973, which empowers the government to control and regulate the utilization of land. If there is a genuine concern and support for CBC, then this piece of legislation too can be yet another legal basis.

4.3.2 Management Institutions Established for CBC

CBC initiatives cannot be effective without a relevant and workable institutional framework at Village and District Levels. At the village level, there is the Village Assembly, Village Finance and Planning Committee (VFPC’s) and the Village Natural Resources Committee (VNRCs). In other villages they have what are known as Village Environmental Committees, (VECs) and these are charged with the task of managing directly the CBC initiatives. Below these there are the Village Game Scouts and Village Forest Guards. Finally all members of the local communities are obliged to keep a look out for anything untoward and report such matters to the Village Authorities.

These are generally common structures across the country, with just very slight variations in some areas. In Duru-Haitemba, a Planning Team supports the committees and each sub-village appoints VFGs. However, experience shows that projects establish parallel structures, which are then responsible for the project Management. These structures are often financed differently and have different work ethics. Rarely are existing institutions and structures used hence they lack that opportunity to develop their capacities.

³ Personal discussions with Dr. Ibrahim Juma and Dr. P. Kabudi both lawyers from the Faculty of Law, University of Dar es Salaam.

4.3.3 Composition and Mandates of Management Team and Linkages with village and District Council

In the process of establishing CBC initiatives, community based systems and institutions have evolved. Largely because of their legacy and inherent limited capacities, they have some shortcomings. Most lack the technical capacity to take off and later manage their resources and operate successful operations. The institutional framework exists in most areas and can be used for facilitating CBC initiatives. However, because of the weaknesses in human capital, it is critical for their management teams to forge strong linkages with the District. Where this is the case, projects have operated more smoothly, as in the case of the LAMP projects in Babati and to a lesser extent in MBOMIPA. Overall however, experience shows that there is still very limited linkage between and among the institutions that deal or support CBC at national district and village level. The fact that there are parallel institutions established (in projects) makes it even more complicated to have strong linkages with village and district councils. In some of the terms, there is an attempt to attain gender balance in the representation, but still women are not well represented.

4.3.4 Regulations and by-laws for the Natural Resource Use

The formulation of by-laws is an overriding requirement in almost all the CBC initiatives. It is an essential precondition that guides the management and protection of the resources within the village land area (territory). The management of NRs in villages is conducted through the formally and informally (traditional) regulations. Despite the existence of traditional or customary regulatory mechanisms (especially in forest management), a precondition for communities to engaged in CBC initiatives, is to establish a set of village by-laws. By-laws for both, forest (CBFM) and wildlife management (WMAs) have been established and this signals the readiness of villages/communities to combat the illegal and unregulated use of forest products and wildlife. Experience shows that the assistance of District and Project staff (as in the case of MBOMIPA, LAMP in Babati, AWF in Loliondo with respect to Ololosokwan Village Community and Conservation Corporation Africa) is critical in facilitating the existence of functional by-laws that are not in conflict with other existing laws. In most areas project staff have exposed village leaders and the VNRCs to existing legal provisions that enable the development of by-laws. By-laws must however, be used together with other laws. Also, the existing needs to raise the awareness of the judges and legislatures to treat environmental offences in the say way as they treat other civil or criminal offences. Environmental related cases are fewer than cases involving other forms of civil or criminal offences, not because the environment and NR is not abused but because culprits are not booked.

4.3.5 Individual Membership, and Eligibility to CBC

It is only communities or villages that have accepted and entered into CBC initiatives that have membership in CBC. Eligibility is determined through communities or villages offering use of their land for wildlife management or being handed over the remit to conserve a forest as part of CBC initiatives. Insofar as individuals within a community are concerned, membership and eligibility is by virtue of their being recognized and accepted members of the community or village in question. In some cases e.g. in MBOMIPA operational areas, some villages have opted not to be members of the initiative.

4.3.6 Rights and Responsibilities of Communities, Village government, District and Central government

The rights and responsibilities of the various stakeholders are numerous. The different institutions and groups have roles that are new and different, but also roles that require that they have good communications with one another. Some institutions such as the Government is effectively letting go of important functions (power and authority) and taking on new roles (see Box 2). Generally the rights and responsibilities of different stakeholders are distributed as follows:

The Local Communities

- Participate in the establishment of CBC initiatives in their own areas
- Participate in the management of the CBC initiatives
- Be responsible for the good management protection and success of the CBC initiatives
- Obtain a fair share of the benefits emanating from their participation in CBC initiatives

Village Government

- Coordination of NRM activities
- Formulation of NR by-laws
- Monitor CBCs/CBC initiatives activities
- Provide land for establishing the CBCs/CBC initiatives

- Enable a conducive environment for the establishment of the CBCs/CBC initiatives
- Ensure that sectoral policies are implemented and are not in conflict with the CBCs/CBC initiatives
- Prosecute offenders
- Obtain a fair share of the benefits of managing CBC initiatives

District Authorities

- Facilitate the creation of village by-laws
- Reconcile the interests of main stakeholders in CBCs/CBC initiatives
- Provide and coordinate technical advice to CBCs/CBC initiatives
- Obtain a fair share of the benefits of managing CBC initiatives
- Assist in establishing what would be the equitable/fair share of each stakeholder

4.3.7 Roles of Central Government directly(MNRT (WD, FBD, FD) or through its agent (e.g. TANAPA and NCAA)

- Assist in initiating CBC initiatives.
- Declare or authorize areas to legally be managed under CBC initiatives
- Confer user rights
- Oversee the performance of CBC initiatives
- Screen potential investors
- Oversee investments in the CBC initiatives
- Establish and endorse extraction quotas
- Enter into contractual agreements with communities on the management of CBC initiatives

- Assist in the technical management and protection of the NRs
- Assist in relevant training e.g. VGSs, FGs
- Monitor and Evaluate performance and development trends in CBC initiatives.
- Assist in anti-poaching activities
- Assist in establishing the fair share and timely distribution benefits derived from the management of CBC initiatives

Box 3. Reinventing the Role of Government

Budgetary constraints, threats to the sustainability of conservation areas and the demands for a more equitable distribution of economic benefits from conservation is putting more pressure on Central Government to yield more authority in the management of these resources. Recent pressure is focusing government on the more technical management aspects, legal and policy matters relating to conservation, while the day to day overseeing or managing of the local resources is being shifted to local communities and the private sector, albeit reluctantly. Given the status quo, this is a painful, hesitant and tedious process. However, there are encouraging signs of an interface developing between local people and the government. This may yet lead to a flexible match of government roles to the ecological and social environments in which they operate, and at the same time, where relevant devolve the management of NRs to local communities. Some local communities meanwhile e.g. in Loliondo and Western Kilimanjaro, are demanding to be allowed to manage NRs, especially wildlife, within their own areas.

4.3.8 Binding Policy Issues

Natural resources in Tanzania are governed by several policies. These include the Wildlife, Forest, Water, Bee-Keeping, Fisheries, Land and Environment policies. All these policies are quite recent and all have elements involving communities in the management of NRs occurring within their localities. Most of the policies are sector oriented, overlooking the fact that the environment itself is functionally and ecologically integrated and interdependent. The policy issues relating to CBC initiatives are very general and the legal aspects are unclear and leave a lot of room for conflict. Although most of the NR policies have been revised there are no clearly defined mechanisms for revenue sharing, partnerships with other stakeholders or players. The policies and policy issues are binding as far as each NR sector is concerned, but there is limited cohesion for policy issues that cut across.

4.3.9 Mechanisms for Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution within and between collaborating villages appears to be sufficient. Conflict resolution takes place in within villages, and the VNRCs and/or the Village

Assembly can facilitate arbitration. In the event of extremes, then issues are forwarded to the local Magistrates.

In areas where the resources are shared among villages, e.g., the ICWMA, the draft constitution sets out the methods for conflicts resolution among the member villages. However, it does not address the potential for external influences and conflicts such as investors and hunting operators. Mechanisms for conflict resolution are somewhat clear in areas where communities have entered into joint agreements with investors. These mechanisms are spelt out in the contracts.

4.4 Facilitation for the CBC

4.4.1 Sources of funds for the CBC

NGOs, bilateral and multi-lateral donors are supporting almost all the CBC activities in Tanzania. This is despite the fact that CBC initiatives are seen as better prospects through which integration of conservation with rural livelihoods can be made possible. CBC is seen as a viable and self-sustaining vehicle of development that can reduce poverty and even bring about prosperity. What is clear however, is that at the outset considerable finding and expertise is required. Moreover, there remains a considerable unmet funding need. Additional sources of funding and technical assistance are required. However, one way to make the whole process to become quickly sustainable, is through making CBC initiatives economically viable.

For the start-up phase, the main funding sources for some of the pilot CBC programs include GTZ, DFID, FZS, CCS, NORAD, SIDA and others include local funds through TANAPA. The amount of external funding surpasses the local component and the duration of funding can last from a year to several years, funding different components and stages of a project, but generally declining as a CBC initiative becomes more self-sufficient. Overall, external funding is over 80 percent of the total funding, a situation which calls into questions, the sustainability of the programs.

4.4.2 Capacity Building Processes

The involvement of local communities in the decision-making and management of marine, forest and wildlife resources, communities is enhancing their management capacities, as well as being able to identify and capture a greater proportion of the benefits deriving from a range of NR uses. Through this enhancement of their capacities, they are being provided with important alternative sources of livelihoods. There is evidence of this in all of the case

studies, but with various degrees of success, and much of this is related to the type and level of participation that is engaged.

Despite this noticeable improvement, there is still a glaring gap existing in certain key skills such as obtaining access to market information and making decisions based on such information, accessing capital to finance community wildlife enterprises, good entrepreneurship, how to form community-private sector partnership and how to negotiate and enter into joint ventures.

NGOs such as the FZS, the AWF's CCS, facilitated the capacity building process in some instances, particularly in the Serengeti and Loliondo areas. The same can be said of the LAMP project in the case of the Duru-Haitemba forest and much of this has been through advice, extension work, study tours and training. From the evidence on the ground, there is no doubt that the roles of facilitators in this process are critical for the success of CBC initiatives. Institutions have also facilitated capacity building such as in the case of the SCRS.

However, where there is a higher degree of capacity building, there also appears to be the opportunity of better success e.g. in the case of SRCS. MBOMIPA and indeed in the case of OVC. Where local understanding and capacity building has been frail, management and interest in these resources have also been poor. It is imperative that there is a deliberate effort to build appropriate local capacity in managing the resources, and also other areas related to entrepreneurial opportunities related to CBC. Furthermore, capacity building alone is not enough. First capacity building programs are often not based on the local communities needs assessment. When they do, their coverage to both in terms of issues that need to be developed as well as who should be involved is often narrow. For example in some of the CBC programs—e.g., JUKUMU in Morogoro or MBOMIPA, local communities have entered into joint ventures agreements within investors. While project staff have provided technical support in understanding complex legal and financial aspects, local communities themselves have not gained sufficient capacity to be able to walk through these complex issues. Capacity building programs are inadequate if they do not consider how opportunities can be created for local communities to exercise and practice the skills that they have obtained in simple, cheap and sustainable ways.

4.4.3 Private Sector Involvement

Although the involvement of the private sector is rather limited, the few available experiences provide a very interesting insight. Two interesting cases of private sector involvement come to the fore. One is through a relatively small outfit based in Arusha known as Dorobo Safaris, and another is between a village (Olosokwan) and a South African based multi-national tourist organization (Conscorp). Dorobo Safaris have captured a niche market

in non-consumptive ecotourism and through joint agreements utilizes village land and hand over a share of the revenues to villages. Additional benefits accrue to villages through labor, portage, guarding and guiding. Conscorp have entered into an agreement with Olosokwan village and the tedious negotiation process was brokered by AWF. Finally an agreement was arrived at, and the village community is beginning to secure direct revenue and other additional non-monetary benefits such as improved school and health facilities. However, these are the few better known cases, others are either not so well known or are shady and this reflects the general situation of private sector involvement, where transparency and equitable sharing of benefits is hard to come by.

There are also similar experiences in JUKUMU and MBOMIPA but a lot more information is needed to be able to determine the relationship between private sector and communities and how communities benefit from these arrangements.

4.5 Economic and Environmental Impact – Benefit Sharing

There are many potential beneficiaries from CBC. The benefits themselves are varied and come in many forms. Experience however, shows that each stakeholder has a slightly different perspective or understanding of benefits. Here also arises the notion of what exactly are benefits. Are they purely monetary or are they more than that? The lessons learned from the case studies and other experience in Tanzania are important, in that they show that there are not only differing interpretations of benefits, but also different levels of appreciation. Moreover, the sharing benefits equitably is different from sharing equally. The former implies sharing has fairly, and that should be the determining factor in sharing of benefits. However, this is still a key problem and a determining factor in ensuring the success of the CBC programs. How can benefits be shares equitably? Benefits sharing boils down to understanding of what benefits are, and how they can be divided among partners. Taking revenue generated from natural resources as an example (e.g. hunting safari operations), the experience and lessons learned show that the government retains the biggest proportion of the revenue (taxes and fees), from an operation that takes place between four to six months of the year. Benefits such as employment opportunities and economic linkages are also small or not available at all. Once the government, the local authority and the investor takes their share of the benefits very little is actually arriving into the household level. Yet this is where most of the critical problems are experienced on a daily basis. Benefit sharing programs that do not address problems at the household level are bound to be unpopular no matter how much money is injected into them. Most benefit sharing programs (e.g. those under TANAPA's CCS or NCAA'S CBC0 are focusing on the provision of social services such as schools, water or roads. However, not many people are thrilled about getting a new school, water supply or a road if their household incomes are still unbelievably low. These could be

regarded as benefits if they are tied to increased effort to manage and produce from natural resources in sustainable ways and for the purpose of addressing household problems.

4.5.1 Categories, type and value of benefits

In CBC, wide ranges of benefits are generated. The benefits are either direct or indirect. In the case of Community Based Forest Management, for example, the direct benefits are often in terms of what is of critical importance for the livelihoods of local communities, and especially at household levels. These include many of the Non-timber Forest Products (NTFPs) such as building materials, woodfuel, wild animals, edible fruits and vegetables, medicinal plants, fodder and so on. In many remote and poor areas, these forests often play an important role as a storage of last resort in times of critical food shortage. In forests that have a good and sustainable supply of trees, then the all important timber business is equally important as an income generating activity.

Then there are the indirect benefits, such a micro-climate regulation, and a variety of important ecological and agricultural support services, ranging from hydrologic functions and soil conservation to crop pollination.

In the management of wildlife, the benefits tend to be more direct, in terms of bush meat, monetary value and alternative job/income earning opportunities creation, i.e. non-farm activities. Basically there are values or benefits derived from consumptive and non-consumptive uses. Overall, however, monetary value, alternative job/income earning opportunities are not as wide and without problems. As indicated above, jobs are limited and large proportion of revenue is appropriated by the government.

There are also indirect benefits often brought about by either residing within or in proximity to protected areas, such as in the case of the pastoralist communities in Serengeti (through SRCS) and Ngorongoro (NCA), and being provided with a range of valuable veterinary services.

The value of this wide range of benefits is perceived differently by different local communities and different stakeholders. For example, the value of wildlife to the private sector or private enterprise is significant, as expressed by the fact that they have made significant investments in these areas, as in the case of Dorobo Safaris, which operates on the principle of non-consumptive uses of wildlife, e.g., photographic and adventure safaris, camping and sight seeing, and are sharing some of the benefits from these activities with local communities. At the moment, the share accruing to the local communities is really negotiated between the leadership of local villages and Dorobo Safaris. The benefits are in terms of direct revenues for the use of their land for camping sites, which goes to the

villages, and for some services such as guards, portage and other work related to the camp sites which goes to individuals. The amount is determined through negotiations between the local communities and Dorobo Safaris. Dorobo as well as other operators such as Robin Hurt Safaris, Tanzania Game Trackers (TGT)–through the Friedkin Conservation Foundation (FCF) also provide community assistance in terms of various community development projects in education, health, water supplies, agriculture and livestock development and the amounts for such initiatives are set aside by the private sector. In this set-up, the deciding factor on how much can be set aside is the profit margin that the developer is expected to get. The developer then decides how much to give, not all the parties covered. The local communities, through their leadership determine how it is going to be spent, within the boundaries of what the private operators are willing to finance.

4.5.2 Mechanisms of Benefit Sharing

There are no fixed mechanisms for benefit sharing. This is clearly a very gray area. The processes of coming up with a benefit sharing mechanism is as diverse as the experience or projects on the ground. This is exemplified in the cases cited above. It is also clear that where mechanisms have been suggested, they are based on ‘guesstimates’ rather than any in-depth economic analysis. It is not clear how these proportions are arrived at, and whether they should be applied in a blanket manner regardless of resource endowments and cost-benefit distribution among the stakeholder.

There are two levels of benefit sharing. At the first level, there is the sharing of benefits among major stakeholders. For example, as proposed in the ICWMA, these are identified as Central Government (5 percent), the local authority -Serengeti District Council (15 percent) and the local communities within the WMA (80 percent). There is the sharing of benefits among the participating communities. In the same case (ICWMA) there are no suggestion as to how this would take place, nor is there any laid out mechanisms for the disbursements of funds.

In the case of SCP the benefits from wildlife are very limited. The District receives 25 percent of the game fees from the hunting blocks and in turn the villages get only 12 percent of the district portion. Against this background, there is little room for success in CBC (Ndunguru and Hahn, 1998, Songorwa, 1999).

Benefit sharing appears to be a better worked out, transparent and mutually arrived at, in the case of OVC and CCA. In the case of the OVC, a contract stipulates that CCA pays a lease fee of US \$1.50 for 3000 acres and US \$1.00 for the remaining area, and this escalates at five percent a year. CCA also pays OVC a gross turnover of two percent in the first year, three percent the second, four percent the fifth and five percent the tenth year. This expands to six

percent in year 15 and seven percent in year 20. There is also an amount to be paid above the minimal bednight fee (\$5 per night). In addition there are other benefits such as employment, building of local skills, assistance to local business, social infrastructure development and so on. CCA also operates a Rural Investment Fund that has the mandate to assist in these and similar areas of need. Finally there is also a provision for Joint Management and decision-Making relating to land and natural resources management and community projects between the two sides. This however, is not a typical case or example of the CBC program. It is an exception to the common situation in which benefits are not known or poorly understood and the rates and mechanism not clearly followed. Local people in NCAA claim that only about 25 percent of the revenue set aside for CBC programs is actually used on social service schemes. NCAA is setting aside about TShs. 500 million each year for CBC programs in villages that surround the NCA. However, villagers do not know how the figure was arrived at, how it is used and have not had the opportunity to examine the financial reports because they are not represented in the relevant meetings.

4.5.3 Winners and Losers

Depending on the type of resource, resource endowment and the institutional arrangements, there are different winners and losers for each case. This highlights the diversity of experiences of CBC. For example in the ICWMA hunters and gatherers will be disadvantaged by the WMA, and so will the smaller private sector operators, through being out-priced by large more established sections of the private sector.

4.5.4 Mechanisms addressing Age, Gender and Equity issues

Although most projects in Tanzania have built in checks and balances that address gender issues, many do not address issues related to youth, and the CBC initiatives so far in Tanzania do not overtly do this. Attention to the concerns of the very young, very old and disadvantaged members of communities is not very visible or even glaringly absent. There are no adequate mechanisms in place that deal with issues of age and equity at the moment. This area needs more focus and the issues need to be clarified.

With respect to gender issues, the fact is Tanzania is a large country with a range of cultural diversity. For example, in Maasai land, there are cultural imperatives here that have to be understood and taken into account. Tradition here dictates what women and children can and cannot be involved in, e.g., farming and livestock keeping activities, wood fetching, cooking etc. Insofar as CBC is concerned, there are no precedents, and anything is possible, although it may be expected that if the benefits are significant, it should come as no surprise that the male members of society will want to be in-charge. Hence the importance of built in mechanisms that take into account the interests of women and children.

Moreover, it has almost become a standard norm to pay attention to gender implications prior to most projects being initiated in Tanzania, even though in some cases this is only token attention. Insofar as CBC is concerned, isolating one gender (women) implies excluding a potential 50 percent in the management of, and sharing the benefits from CBC initiatives. Understanding and addressing gender dynamics is essential to planning and bringing about equitable, effective and sustainable CBC initiatives. This is true in both forest and wildlife initiatives. Some initiatives have an appreciable representation of women, whereas in others it is very limited.

5. The Way Forward – Constraints and Solutions

In promoting successful CBC, new premises are sought which focus on a multidisciplinary approach in which the Government is obliged to surrender some of its obligations to allow the sharing of responsibilities and benefits with communities. Such a strategy shifts away from a focus only on wildlife for protecting or conserving natural resources. The parameters for national sustainable development and economic improvement of local communities are being redefined.

However, several constraints have to be contended before the successful CBC model is realized. Some of the overriding issue that have to be addressed include:

Table 3. Constraints and Solutions

Constraints	Potential Solutions
Inadequately streamlined and harmonized legal and institutional frameworks for CBC control and administration	Review and reform (streamline, harmonize)
A bias of CBC knowledge to the “policing” attitudes, a legacy of the top down approach, accompanied by similarly biased interpretation of “extension work” or facilitation	Retrain in new CBC approaches, stressing on participatory planning and decision making processes)
Conflicting, overlapping and gap creating mandates and approaches used by many government institutions, facilitators, donors and other CBC players	Review, educate, streamline and harmonize.
Lack of clear and concise tenurial rights for communities and individuals over land and natural resources	Provide clear, simple and understandable legal framework to securing of tenure.
Absence or inadequate knowledge on what is entailed in CBC vis-à-vis the traditional approach to the ‘protection’ of natural resources	Continue collecting, collating showing and promoting application of lessons learned. Implement participatory procedures to make positive change.
Inadequate political will in spearheading institutionalization of CBC and an immature professional approach which favours personal advancement and gratification over community or national development	Provide independent overview to publicly promote issues of transparency, and accountability of CBC/public funds.
Diversities or disparities existing between individuals, communities and even sectors in terms of education and awareness; economy and wealth; availability of natural resources and other factors which call for coherent and thorough participatory approaches to	Provide comprehensive guidelines for participatory processes and provide facilities for appropriate CBC focused education and awareness raising programmes.

Constraints	Potential Solutions
assessments at all levels	
That so called “national” aspirations have consistently sidelined community aspirations and priorities and may continue to do so	Invest policy statements directed to community empowerment with full legislative backup. Conduct needs assessment and address them as top priority.
Involvement of private sector in licensed hunting, tour operations, hotel management, and others, has not contributed positively to the development of communities	Assess constraints to private sector/community linkages to pave the way to providing an enabling environment for more benefit sharing.
The entanglement of poverty in inadequate local and national planning providing for participatory CBC processes creates constraints for the establishment of sustainable natural resource management initiatives	Thoroughly evaluate and plan for the impact of poverty on CBC. Assess the impact of livelihood strategies and poverty coping strategies in CBC.
An overwhelming problem is to find a mechanism for the equitable sharing of the resources from CBCs Villages, Districts and Central government, private sector along with the communities and the individuals within them. All like to share the benefits obtained, equitably	Put sustained focus on this issue until a solution is developed. Engage all stakeholders in suggesting acceptable mechanism for equitable sharing of benefits.
There is a general failure to recognize that consumptive use of wildlife has limits. Recent economic cost-benefit analyses suggest that non-consumptive options may provide better, sustainable, returns.	Commission study to evaluate consumptive wildlife use to appropriately balance its' benefits with other, non consumptive options. Also, increase range of non consumptive options
There is also a failure to acknowledge that human beings form one integral component of the environment. The dawning of awareness that humanity is totally dependant on the environment and that this same environment has a direct influence on humanity and their economy is happening too slowly to guide the CBC process with any sense of urgency	Actively promote 'big picture' issues nationally and locally, spearheading a change in attitudes by linking poverty, population growth and other critical parameters firmly together with the benefits of a healthy environment. Promote sustainable development and sustainability issues which should stress the need to take on board the linkages between human activities and the state of the environment.

Source: Appendix 1

Some Important Points to Note

A variety of aspects influence the ability of the communities to take the new concepts on board ranging from a lack of trust, to multiple players, confusion, lack of harmonization and the fact that wildlife conservation issues have already been banded about for many years in different guises. The issue of the level of community participation in the WMA concept, decision making and planning has been identified by people at all levels as one critical to the potential success of any initiative. The speed at which community members become engaged

in the process and then committed to it is dependent, therefore, upon a number of factors, including:

1. **History of government and donor agency interventions:** different organizations have different agendas and objectives. Different organizations having influence on communities at different times can often send mixed messages, which lays the groundwork for future conflicts and considerable confusion.
2. **Project based initiatives:** a history of project based initiatives at community level sponsored by an agency(ies) external to a community exercising a top-down approach has commonly led to what could be termed as a “dependent and expectant” mentality. Quite often in the past projects have been ‘given’ to villages with little encouragement for any depth of input from the community members themselves as to the appropriateness or self- sustainability of the project. This has led to little sense of ownership of the project by the communities. Village members then have the tendency to view future projects in the light of those that have in the past, assumed that their input is unnecessary and thus they look to see what they can extract from the project over the short term. This is often evidenced at the initial stages of project assessment when community leaders produce a ‘wish list’ of projects for their community in the anticipation that ‘someone else’ will be providing for them. It takes time for a community so influenced to release this bias toward anyone attempting to facilitate a genuinely participatory process at the community level.
3. **Natural Resource Endowment:** in general, the richer the natural resource base the easier it will be to convince communities of the benefits to be drawn from sustainable community management of those resources. This makes working on CBC initiatives with communities with marginal natural resources more challenging. This situation is further exacerbated if the natural resource wealth between communities participating in a natural resource management area (NRMA) is unevenly distributed.
4. **Number of stakeholders:** the greater the number of stakeholders, the more complex the issues and the more time will be needed to unravel the hopes and fears, plans and ambitions of all those involved. This time is needed if community members are to understand the environment their partner stakeholders are coming from and vice versa. e.g. for a partnership with a private sector entrepreneur the community will need to understand private sector needs such as security of tenure, return on investment, personal security (especially in the case of tourism), and levels of exclusivity. The Private Sector will, in turn, need to understand and respect community process and needs, and above all, community expectations.

5. **Poverty:** Whilst a community remains in poverty the integrity of process at the community level is very fragile and vulnerable to the impact of easy, yet short term 'fixes' such as those offered through the adoption of corrupt practices. The more a community is obliged to focus on immediate and urgent basic issues on a day to day basis (i.e. spending a lot of time focused on water collection, fuel wood collection, subsistence farming etc.), the more difficult it will be to persuade them to become involved in a NRM program that requires them to look forward and plan ahead. One way to resolve this is to tie in the natural resource issues with the 'big picture' issues that faces their community and which are the underlying causes of their poverty. In this way the community will have more control over their direction which can energize them to make significant changes in the way they perceive their natural resource, and their poverty.
6. **Leadership and levels of education:** communities require committed/dedicated individuals with certain basic levels of education in order for them to manage the various elements of a CBC. The level of education between communities is not even and this influences the speed at which participants can attain sufficient skills to manage their natural resources as a CBC program. Management of a CBC activity also requires additional expertise such as accounting, bookkeeping, contractual negotiations with the private sector and conflict resolution both internally and externally. In addition, communities may have to consider changes to the personnel they have representing them in Village Government and Natural Resource Committees because of their lack of appropriate skills and education. It can take time for communities to both realize this as an issue and then to act on it.
7. **Representation:** community representation in natural resource issues often times has an internal cultural bias where specific and important groups within the community, who have considerable potential to influence any NRM program, are not appropriately represented. This includes, but is not confined to, representation of women and representation by age. Without these groups being included from the outset there is a high chance that a considerable number of community members will feel excluded from the process which can put pressures on the program at a later date.
8. **Facilitation:** facilitation at the community level often hinges on the skills of a single person, a small core of people or a donor. If these individuals and institutions do not have an appropriate grasp of the complexities involved in community facilitation they can easily lose the trust and respect. One careless, glib comment at the early stages can render them totally ineffective. There is a tendency to focus on capacity building

at the community level when there is an equal need for capacity building of facilitators and other key players in this process.

9. **Cultural complexity:** in some areas where CBC activities, are proposed communities are culturally homogenous. For example, the proposed Loliondo Community Wildlife Management Area is comprised exclusively of Maasai communities. In other areas the communities are more culturally heterogeneous. For example, the proposed Makao Community Wildlife Management Area is comprised of a mixture of increasingly marginalised hunter/gatherers such as the WaHadzabe, pastoralists such as Maasai, and sedentary farmers such as the Wasukuma and the Iraq. The same applies to the Selous and in the MBOMIPA area. The more heterogeneous the community groupings, the more complex the issues surrounding the establishment of a CBC program will be, and the more time will be required to ensure all stakeholders are fully aware and engaged in the process. Beside cultural differences in similarities, initiatives for a CBC program can be affected by differences in social structures, age and gender difference. For example, where there are few rich farmers or livestock keepers who can dominate decisions, the CBC program can hardly be considered as a community program.
10. **Project approach and time frame:** large intergovernmental funded projects come with specific work plans, results frameworks and time frames. People working at the community level often chant to themselves the mantra ‘community based, community paced’. Community awareness raising and engagement is not an easily predictable process and, in the past, project demands have often clashed with community capacities creating pressures for the project to ‘roll on regardless’. This has had the effect of leaving the communities behind effectively disengaged from the process.
11. **Donor agendas:** donor supported initiatives often have their own specific agendas for wanting to establish a CBC program. For example, there are cases where an NGO that has wildlife management as its main priority. This NGO may have a mandate to conserve wildlife that it has sold to the people who contribute their funds. It is obliged to keep to that mandate if these funds are to continue to flow in. In the past the NGO has supported popular but conservative conservation activities to protect wildlife. In areas outside of government protected areas this NGO may recognize that the creation of a CBC program with a focus on wildlife is the only credible way forward if the long term sustainability of the wildlife resource is to be maintained. This brings conflict within the NGO as it is now required to work with people while its mandate remains wildlife. Wildlife conservation or community development? The pressure is on the NGO to pay lip service to the community issues in order for it to

secure critical land areas as WMAs in the name of the communities. This pressure is intensified if the perception is that time is at a premium and unless the process is completed quickly the wildlife resources will be significantly threatened. There is a danger in these circumstances that the process does not integrate the community members sufficiently and that the whole thing could unravel again at a later date. A risk worth taking, perhaps, from the understandable perspective of the NGO.

12. **Politics:** politicians are often themselves torn between making a decision that makes sense over the long term for their constituents and one that makes sense over the short term for them to get voted back into office. Hidden agendas can also be an issue in politics.

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